

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
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O R 201100Z JUN 78 ZFF 4
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9547
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION USNATO
USELM LIVE OAK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 11325

USELMLO - FOR U.S. EYES ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, BQG
SUBJECT: PROPOSED ALLIED PROTEST TO SOVIETS ON GDR
TURNBACKS ON THE BERLIN TRANSIT ROUTES

REFS: (A) BONN 11248, (B) BONN 11169, (C) 77 BONN 10025,
(D) USBERLIN 1426

BEGIN SUMMARY. AT THE JUNE 19 BONN GROUP MEETING, THE
FRG REP CONFIRMED THAT THERE WAS NOTHING ABOUT THE
APPEARANCE OF THE BUSES INVOLVED IN THE RECENT
HINDRANCES ON THE BERLIN TRANSITWAYS THAT COULD BE
DEEMED "PROVOCA" TO THE GDR. THE BONN GROUP REACHED
AD REF AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF AN ALLIED PROTEST, FOR
DELIVERY TO THE SOVIETS IN BERLIN, AND ON THE TEXT OF
A BRIEF ORAL REPLY TO THE JUNE 14 SOVIET PROTEST. AT
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PRESENT, THE FRG APPEARS TO BE PREPARED TO TREAT THE
MATTER RELATIVELY LOW-KEY AND NOT TO PERMIT THE RECENT
HINDRANCES TO INTERFERE WITH FRG/GDR NEGOTIATIONS ON A
NUMBER OF OTHER ISSUES. ACTION REQUESTED: SEE
PARAGRAPH 8. END SUMMARY.

1. AT A BONN GROUP MEETING ON JUNE 19, THE FRG REP

(VON BRAUNMUEHL) REPORTED ON THE RESULTS OF THE FRG PROTESTS TO THE GDR AND ON THE RESULTS OF THE FRG INQUIRY INTO THE FACTS OF THE HINDRANCES ON THE AUTO-BAHN. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT BRAEUTIGAM DELIVERED THE PLANNED (REF. B) PROTEST TO THE GDR DCM BAUMGAERTL ON JUNE 17. BAUMGAERTL'S ANSWER WAS UNSATISFACTORY, IN THAT IT REJECTED THE FRG PROTEST AND SAID THAT THE GDR WAS NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT A MISUSE OF THE TRANSITWAYS. IT THEN REFERRED BACK TO THE GDR DECLARATION OF AUGUST 12, 1976 AND SAID THAT THE GDR FOUND IT STRANGE THAT THE FRG WAS ENGAGED ON BEHALF OF THE POLITICAL FORCES THAT WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE JUNE 17 ACTIVITIES IN WEST BERLIN. THE GDR HAS NOT REPLIED TO THE TELEGRAM SENT BY WULF, THE FRG REPRESENTATIVE ON THE FRG/GDR TRANSIT COMMISSION (REF. B).

2. REGARDING THE FACTS OF THE MATTER, VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT A TOTAL OF THREE BUSES HAD BEEN TURNED BACK (THE PRESS HAD VARIOUSLY REPORTED UP TO FIVE) OUT OF A TOTAL OF 25 WHICH PLANNED TO MAKE THE TRIP. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT NONE OF THE BUSES CARRIED BANNERS OR OTHER SIGNS VISIBLE ON THE OUTSIDE OF THE BUSES, NOR WAS THERE ANY POLITICAL MATERIAL VISIBLE WITHIN THE BUSES. THIS WAS AN ANSWER TO FRENCH AND UK CONCERNS THAT THE BUSES, AS THEY WERE IN THE AUGUST 13, 1976 HINDRANCES, MIGHT HAVE BEEN "PROVOCATIVE" IN SUCH A CONFIDENTIAL

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MANNER AS TO GIVE THE GDR A COLORABLE CLAIM UNDER THE FRG/GDR TRANSIT AGREEMENT THAT THE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN VIOLATED.

3. VON BRAUNMUEHL SAID THAT THE FRG ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO A PROMPT ALLIED DEMARCHE TO THE SOVIETS AND THAT THE FRG WOULD HOPE THAT THE NEXT ALLIED AMBASSADOR TO HAVE LUNCH WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO THE GDR ABRASIMOV SHOULD DEPLORE THE HINDRANCES. SINCE THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IS EXPECTED TO SEE ABRASIMOV NEXT, THE FRENCH REP (GAUSSOT) AGREED TO RECOMMEND THAT HIS AMBASSADOR TAKE UP THE SUBJECT.

4. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, IT WAS AGREED AD REF TO RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING TEXT OF AN ALLIED PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS FOR DELIVERY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, HOPEFULLY ON JUNE 21, BY THE CHAIRMAN (FRENCH) POLAD IN BERLIN.

BEGIN TEXT

THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE THREE POWERS HAVE BEEN INFORMED

THAT ON JUNE 16 AND 17 OFFICIALS OF THE GDR REFUSED OR
DELAYED PASSAGE TO BERLIN ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES TO

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 11325

NUMEROUS CIVILIAN TRAVELLERS.

I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO REMIND YOU OF THE STATEMENT
MADE ON AUGUST 26, 1976 BY THE CHAIRMAN
POLITICAL ADVISER TO A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET
EMBASSY IN BERLIN AND TO INFORM YOU THAT THE THREE
POWERS CONSIDER THESE ACTIONS BY THE AUTHORITIES OF
THE GDR ILLEGAL AND UNACCEPTABLE.

IN THE QA OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1971, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
USSR DECLARED THAT THE TRANSIT TRAFFIC OF CIVILIAN
PERSONS AND GOODS BETWEEN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN
AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WILL BE UNIMPEDED.
THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION IN THE QA FOR IMPEDING
TRANSIT ON THE BASIS OF EVENTS OCCURRING IN THE
WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN OR OF TRAVELLERS' REASONS
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FOR GOING THERE, NOR HAS THE GDR ANY COMPETENCE TO DETERMINE THE PROPRIETY OF ACTIVITIES OR EVENTS IN THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN.

THE OBSTRUCTION OF TRANSIT TRAFFIC WHICH OCCURRED ON JUNE 16 AND 17 CONSTITUTED A CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO ENSURE THAT SUCH VIOLATIONS DO NOT OCCUR. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE THREE POWERS EXPECT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO SEE TO IT THAT SUCH VIOLATIONS DO NOT OCCUR IN THE FUTURE.

END TEXT

5. THE DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE THAT THIS TEXT IS LARGELY THE SAME AS THAT APPROVED BY THE DEPARTMENT ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS LAST YEAR, IN CASE THE GDR INTERFERED WITH BERLIN TRANSIT TRAFFIC IN CONNECTION WITH PLANNED JUNE 17 ACTIVITIES IN WEST BERLIN (REF. C). THE ONLY SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES ARE THE INCLUSION OF THE REFERENCE TO THE AUGUST 26, 1976 STATEMENT IN THE SECOND PARAGRAPH AND THE DELETION OF THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THAT PARAGRAPH. THE UK REP (EYERS) SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THE FCO WOULD INSIST ON THE DELETION OF THE SECOND SENTENCE, WHICH INTER ALIA REFERRED TO THE GDR MOTIVE, SINCE THE FCO CONSIDERS THAT THE LANGUAGE IS TOO RHETORICAL AND THAT IT IS UNWISE TO IMPUTE MOTIVES TO THE OTHER SIDE. IN THE HOPE THAT THIS DELETION WILL RESULT IN PROMPT APPROVAL AND DELIVERY OF THE PROTEST, WHICH WE CONSIDER IMPORTANT, THE U.S. REP AGREED TO THIS CHANGE.

6. THE BONN GROUP ALSO AGREED AD REF TO THE FOLLOWING ORAL STATEMENT TO BE DELIVERED AT THE TIME OF DELIVERING
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THE PROTEST IN ORDER TO ANSWER THE SOVIET DEMARCHE OF JUNE 14 (REF. D): "WITH REGARD TO YOUR STATEMENT OF JUNE 14, I AM INSTRUCTED TO SAY THAT THE REMARKS I MADE IN REPLY FULLY REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE THREE POWERS."

7. COMMENT: IT IS STILL UNCLEAR WHY THE GDR HAS TAKEN THE STEPS IT DID TO HINDER TRAFFIC, IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT IT DID NOT DO SO LAST YEAR AND IN CONTRAST TO THE FACT THAT THE GDR IS BEING FORTHCOMING ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES ON THE INNER-GERMAN SCENE. OUR OWN SPECULATION,

AND THAT OF THE FRG IN TH BONN GROUP, IS THAT AFTER
HAVING DIRECTED THE GDR TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING TO THE
FRG ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES, THE SOVIETS WERE INCLINED
TO GIVE THE GDR A FREER HAND IN EXERTING PRESSURE ON
THE TRANSIT ROUTES IN CONNECTION WITH THE JUNE 17
COMMEMORATION ACTIVITIES. IN ANY CASE, THE FRG THUS
FAR APPEARS TO BE PREPARED TO TREAT THE MATTER RELATIVE-
LY LOW-KEY AND NOT TO LET IT INTERFERE WITH PROGRESS ON
OTHER INNER-GERMAN MATTERS OF INTEREST TO THE FRG.

8. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF TEXTS IN PARAGRAPHS
4 AND 6 FOR DELIVERY BY THE CHAIRMAN POLAD IN BERLIN.
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